DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 448 150 SP 039 679

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TITLE Teacher Education in the 21st Century: Lessons from Intern Attrition in an Urban Professional Development School.

PUB DATE 1999-02-00

NOTE 52p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Teacher Educators (Chicago, IL, February 12-16, 1999).

PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Beginning Teacher Induction; College School Cooperation; Diversity (Student); Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; Labor Turnover; Mentors; Partnerships in Education; Preservice Teacher Education; *Professional Development Schools; School Culture; *Student Attrition; Student Teacher Attitudes; Student Teachers; Teacher Attitudes; *Teacher Persistence; Teaching Conditions; *Urban Schools; Violence

IDENTIFIERS Teacher Isolation

ABSTRACT

This study examined intern attrition within one urban secondary Professional Development School (PDS). The secondary school was 80 percent minority. Data were collected over 2 years using participant observation, semi-structured interviews, PDS questionnaires, intern personal journals, and document analysis of resignation letters. Informants included five secondary interns who had resigned. All were white and four were female. Interviews were also conducted with eight interns who completed the program, four university faculty, and six school faculty who had worked with these students. Results highlighted several important themes: preparation (course orientation toward theory rather than practice, insufficient training to meet the needs of diverse learners, and an impractical fourth year practicum); support (the need for a climate of support and the lack of consistent mentoring); and internship experience (workplace conditions and a sense of isolation). These results produce a complex web of intern experiences within the PDS, with the primary influences being the cultures of the school and university which are in tension in the intern world. Four realms of experience were critical to interns' decisions to leave or continue: university coursework and preparation, PDS teams, high school classes, and personal context. (Contains 49 references.) (SM)

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Teacher Education in the 21st Century: Lessons from Intern Attrition in an Urban Professional Development School

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Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Teacher Educators
Chicago, IL February 1999

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Teacher Education in the 21st Century:
Lessons from Intern Attrition in a Professional Development School

Why do beginning teachers leave the profession? In recent years, there has been a growing body of research exploring this high attrition rate of novice teachers (Adams, 1996; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Shin, 1994). The recruitment and retention of minority candidates is especially acute. This candidate pool falls far short of anticipated needs for the twenty-first century (Astin, Green, & Korn, 1987; Darling-Hammond, 1998).

What is most disturbing is that teacher shortages then occur most pervasively in central city schools, where poor and minority children are increasingly concentrated (Darling-Hammond, 1990; 1998; Haberman & Rickards, 1990). The elimination of this particular form of inequality can come only by a large and sustained boost in the supply of well-trained teachers, and the creation of an occupational structure and job conditions that will encourage the retention of new entrants and talented veterans. How can teacher education in the new millennium evolve to meet these challenges?

One proposed avenue for both reducing teacher attrition and increasing teacher effectiveness is serious and intensive induction of new teachers within a network of support (Andrew & Schwab, 1995; Gold, 1989, 1996; Reiman, Bostick, Lassiter & Cooper, 1995). The Holmes Group (1986; 1990; 1995), a consortium of schools of education, call for the creation of Professional Development Schools (PDS's), analogous to teaching hospitals. Here, expert teachers would join with university faculty to provide a structured internship experience for new teachers. Such schools would be exemplars of good practice, and would produce and develop knowledge of teaching with new entrants. This in turn would provide high-quality education to those children who in many cases

teacher preparation program. It is hoped that this study may provide a more complete understanding of why beginning teachers leave the profession, and the place of teacher education and the PDS in stemming that tide.

Questions which guided this study were:

Are there patterns which emerge in the preparation and experiences of the interns that may have contributed to their resignations?

Are there aspects of the implementation of the university-school partnership that may have contributed to intern decisions regarding whether to enter the teaching profession?

A Way Of Thinking About Becoming a Teacher

Yinger and Hendricks-Lee (1993) propose the term *ecological intelligence* as a multi-fold systems theory that asserts that knowledge is widely dispersed in systems, and that working knowledge is constructed jointly by participants in a system. It shifts the focus from individual thinking and problem solving to the relationships between the individual and the environment. Ecological intelligence is a useful conceptual framework with three characteristics:

> (1) knowledge is inherent and widely dispersed in systems; (2) knowledge becomes available as working knowledge in particular activities and events; and (3) working knowledge is constructed jointly by participants and systems in an activity. This view stands in stark contrast to widely held notions of teacher and student knowledge being solely acquired and applied by an individual (p.100).

Yinger and Hendricks-Lee go on to assert that systems are complex networks of cultural, physical, social, historical and personal realms of knowledge. Ecological intelligence can be said to be in use when these structures converge within an activity, such as teacher education.

This study suggests that ecological intelligence is appropriately applied to the complex system of the PDS where teacher preparation is facilitated through the interaction and negotiation of the disparate knowledge systems and contexts of the interns, school and university. Here the purposes of teacher education, continuing development of professional educators and research into practice are accomplished through the interaction of university and school. Through grounding the development of teachers in classroom work in the Professional Development School, experiences that facilitate the development of classroom ecological intelligence are created. Candidates study and teach in a context where they can "learn deeply about how to handle real problems of practice" (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996; p. 32). This study utilizes this theory to interpret whether the acquisition of such situated knowledge affects teacher retention.

Some Ideas From the Literature

This review of the literature included the areas of PDS studies, beginning teacher induction and retention, and teacher attrition.

Interestingly, the literature regarding Professional Development Schools focuses primarily on the importance and structures of university-school collaboration in the preparation and induction of new teachers (Book, 1996; Teitel, 1996; Valli, Cooper & Frankes, 1997), and provides limited documentation at the present time regarding the drawbacks and benefits that accompany various participation structures within the PDS. There is little discussion of the experiences of PDS-trained student teachers. Four studies (Castle, 1997; Lemlech & Hertzog-Foliart, 1993; Stallings, 1994; Yopp, Guillaume & Savage, 1993-1994) report general support of the program and significant professional

growth of pre-service teachers, yet Woloszyk and Hill (1994) found that PDS and non-PDS trained teachers did not differ significantly in their beliefs about teaching, and Hopkins, Hoffman & Moss (1997) found that PDS preservice teachers had significantly higher stress levels than their non-PDS counterparts. It is not clear in the current literature whether the PDS facilitates effectiveness and retention in teaching.

Similar to the PDS literature, the studies of teacher induction and retention are important in understanding intern attrition. These studies point to a variety of personal factors and environmental factors which facilitate teacher learning early in their careers and appear to retain them in the profession. Haberman (1987; 1993; 1996) and others indicate that there are "personal norms...adaptive strategies and support for persistent expert teaching" (Campbell, 1990-1991; p.36) which predict teacher retention. These include characteristics such as seeking solutions to never-ending problems, a willingness to be accountable for teaching all children, and the ability to apply generalizations about teaching and learning to a specific classroom situation.

Rosenholtz (1989) however, focuses her factors for teacher induction and retention upon workplace conditions rather than personality characteristics. She states that "work motivation and commitment have less to do with the personal qualities people bring to the workplace than with the design and management of the tasks within it" (p.423). Her studies outline several school conditions required for teachers' productive commitment to schools. Clear goals set by administrators, clear frequent and helpful feedback, acknowledgment of efforts, and school standards for student conduct and parental contact appear to facilitate teacher retention.

In her review of current induction programs in schools, Huling-Austin (1990) reports agreement on the need for codified yet flexible programs, the import of a support or mentor teacher, the need for a variety of agencies to collaborate in providing beginning teacher support, and the need for teaching assignments that will allow them to succeed. There is less consensus in how to best structure that support. Extended teacher preparation programs appear to be one avenue for exploration, as decade long studies comparing graduates of 4 and 5 year programs report significantly higher retention and effectiveness scores for those who completed the extra year of study (Andrew, 1990; Andrew & Schwab, 1995).

Studies of teacher attrition reiterate many of the challenges cited in the retention literature, and paint a disturbing picture of the high incidence of teachers leaving the profession, especially beginning teachers (Kirby & Grissmer, 1993; Shin, 1994). Teacher attrition follows a U-shaped pattern, with high attrition for individuals early in their careers, and when retirement has been reached. The largest proportion will leave one year after entering teaching, about 20 percent. Another 13 percent leave by the end of the second year. By the end of the fourth year, a little over half of the cohort will have left teaching. Heyns (1988) found that 54 percent of those who actually entered teaching quit.

There is little agreement on the demographic characteristics of leavers, but clear occupational factors related to attrition, such as salary, working conditions, and perception of support (Karge, 1993). In her study of the rapid burnout of beginning teachers, Hewitt (1993) reports that teacher personality, relationships, extreme workload, poor university preparation and insufficient mentoring all play a role in attrition.

Several ideas from the literature regarding the PDS, induction and retention, and attrition emerge as important in viewing the PDS intern resignations explored in the present study. First, there appears to be some agreement that extended study, be it in a PDS, an 5 year university program or school-based entry year induction program, serves to increase the longevity of teachers in the profession. Second, multiple support, again in a variety of university, school and personal systems across studies, appears to be a factor in teacher retention. Finally, the importance of workplace conditions in teaching career decisions cannot be underestimated. These themes inform the description of intern attrition in a Professional Development School.

Methodology

This study was conducted using qualitative methods, particularly participant observation, the semi-structured interview and document analysis (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992, Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data gathering and analysis occurred simultaneously over a two year period.

Context. The site selected was a secondary PDS in a large Midwestern city, where the university-school partnership has been developed over a ten year period. The PDS is 80 percent minority, and 50 percent of students receive free lunch. The PDS structure consists of team teaching of some university courses by university and school faculty, weekly teaching experience in the fourth year of the program and a fifth year paid internship within a team structure consisting of a lead teacher, career teacher-mentors, and a university liaison. In 1996, the attrition rate of interns was 28%; in 1997, the rate was 12%.

Informants, data sources and analysis. The primary informants were five secondary interns who resigned. All were white, four female and one male, ages ranged between 22 and 32, two were in English, one in foreign language, one in science and one in special education. Eight interns who completed the program, four university faculty and six school faculty who worked with these students were also interviewed. Participant observation, document analysis of resignation letters, exit interviews, PDS questionnaires, and intern personal journals provided for triangulation of interview perspectives. Content analysis (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992) was utilized to interpret data in three areas critical to the development of classroom ecological intelligence: preparation, internship experiences and support by the PDS system. Data sources were also coded for similarities and differences in informants' perceptions in these three areas.

Narrative of Findings

> I had no support while I was in the classroom…I guess I wanted the traditional, hold my hand first year…someone available to observe every day and give constant feedback…I can't find out how to teach this way… *-Gloria, resigning intern*

> Your education does not prepare you for teaching. *-Donna, mentor teacher*

> All three of my interns wanted to quit, but by January they realized they were going to make it. I don't know how much their sticking was due to them as individuals or an individual member of the professional team. *-Charles, university mentor*

As sketched by the voices of these PDS partners, distinct patterns of perception regarding the university-school partnership emerged for the PDS interns, school faculty and campus faculty. What this discussion attempts to do is to discern the commonalties in these different stories, and make some sense of factors that may be involved in intern attrition.

This narrative proceeds in two important, interwoven sections. First, the data were interrogated to discern the constituent elements of the constructs of preparation, support and internship experience in the PDS that were perceived to be involved in intern attrition. Second, these findings were interwoven to create a display of the context or ecology of intern attrition. This section describes the context that stakeholders perceived to be operating in the PDS, focusing on the elements within it that appear to be related to the resignation of interns. Finally, these findings are summarized as a need for a situated pedagogical knowledge to promote intern retention.

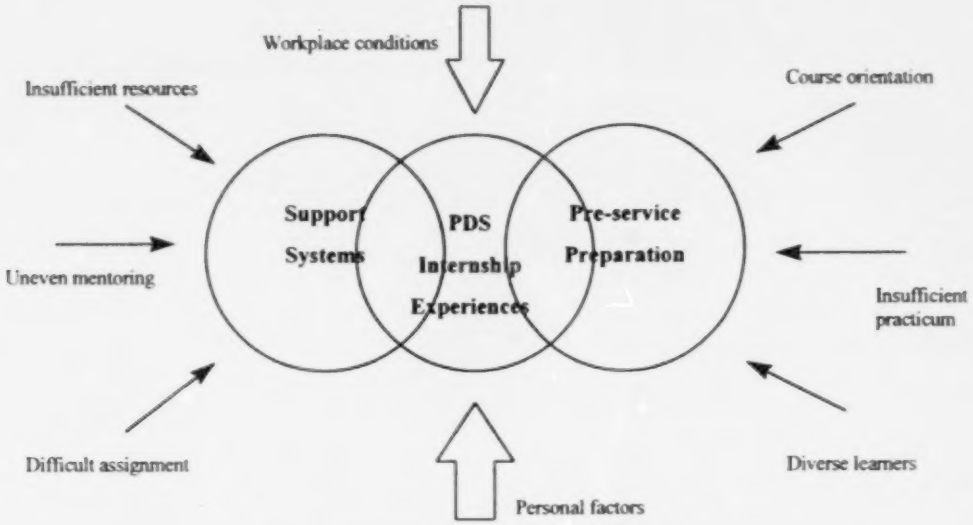
Themes in Intern Attrition

Several themes emerged from the data as issues which may have contributed to intern attrition. Figure 5.1 summarizes the constituent elements of the preservice

preparation, support system available in the PDS, and the internship experiences that appear to be related to withdrawal cognition.

Figure 5.1

Themes in Intern Attrition



These themes are presented individually with supporting data, although it is clear that the interaction of these preparation, support and internship experiences of the resigning interns was critical in their decision to leave the PDS.

Issues of Preparation

Three issues of preparation appear to emerge across stakeholders as important in intern attrition: the perception of some disconnection between university course work and teaching practice; insufficient preparation to meet the needs of diverse learners and manage and monitor their learning; and a fourth year practicum experience that isn't always perceived as practical.

The great disconnect: Course orientation toward theory and not practice. The perennial complaint of student teachers appears to be reinforced by the data in this study:

courses and practice in teaching are divorced in fundamental ways. This finding emerges across school and university faculty as well, not in terms of course content, but in course execution.

Specifically, educational foundations courses were perceived as not supporting work in schools in their current iterations, while "methods" courses were regarded as beneficial to teaching practice. Courses regarding cognitive psychology and human development were specifically targeted as "highly irrelevant" by both resigning and continuing interns. Yet some courses regarding instructional technology and instructional management were called "methods" and praised, and then called "bogus" by other interns who took a different section of the same course. This "discrepant data" required further investigation to get at the heart of course work disconnection for interns. Interestingly, upon probing these intern responses and re-interrogating the data, what interns appear to be critiquing is not course content, but the delivery and orientation of course material which did not make clear the connection of theory to practice, or did not attempt to discuss classroom practice at all. Conceptualized in this manner, an important theme emerges across all stakeholders in this study which may have contributed to intern attrition: *course orientation* which "disconnects" theory and practice.

The resigning interns are adamant on this point. They discuss enjoying the "high-powered discussion of theory and educational issues" in classes, but that this did not prepare them for "the outrageous state of public schools" or how to work with students and colleagues. A concern that all five resigning interns expressed was "...the way discipline was taught in the program...it is difficult to develop methods outside of

discipline issues. It's not particularly helpful for what we are getting into." They note that:

> …if you have a class and you can't settle them down, what do you do? That was one I still don't have the answer to…I wish someone would have told me you will spend fifty percent of your time on management, and even then you will reach only a few students.

Course orientation also includes delivery. Resigning interns believe that "three weeks of material is covered in ten weeks" and that many of the courses were taught by graduate students who had no teaching experience and made no attempt to relate course content to teaching practice. This is the area where the differing categorization of instructional technology and management courses occurred. When course content was related to practice, such as possibilities for Internet use in the classroom or how developmental theories can help teachers plan appropriate activities for adolescents, interns called them "methods courses." In these courses "you did feel like you were taking things you could learn and put in the classroom". Specific instructors, notably those professors who taught courses in discipline-specific methods, were cited as "phenomenal." However, when course content was taught as theory, such as discussions of the learning theory of constructivism or Freudian developmental theory, interns called them "bogus." Specific instructors, notably graduate students who taught educational foundations courses, were regarded as "clueless." These courses are cited as "busywork" and "simply missing the point of preparing preservice teachers for today's schools."

Continuing interns reinforce this theory-practice gap. Interns speak of the "witnessing too much hypocracy {sic}" in regard to course execution: "Professors and university staff should model" the practices expected of interns, and "review course

syllabi and make sure all assignments are related directly" to teaching. They report that "theory tied to subject matter" is useful, but that this connection is rarely made. Interns report that some instructors discuss cooperative learning and student-centered classrooms in 90 minute lectures. One continuing intern stated that "the theory behind preparation for entering interns is satisfactory; its implementation, however, needs much improvement." Specific inattention to discipline strategies was targeted.

Interns consistently relate that the courses regarding human learning and life-long learning do not address student learning. Clearly, content integral to effective teaching is infused in these courses, yet course orientation, in uneven delivery and lack of application to the classroom, does not bridge the theory-practice gap for these interns.

School based and campus based faculty voice these preparation concerns as well. School-based faculty discuss the fact that their interns did not know how to begin the planning process, being unsure of what and how to teach, and how to manage and monitor learning. One mentor felt that it seemed that interns wanted mentors to "make lesson plans for them." This corroborates the data provided by both resigning and continuing interns which documents "seat of the pants" and "wing it" lesson planning because of a lack of preparation in this regard. It appeared that while interns are well prepared in their content area, they are not prepared for the context of high school, or the management of adolescents. Only one mentor felt that preparation was adequate for the internship, yet even he noted that interns may not be prepared for the context of teaching, especially regarding management issues.

The school-based program coordinator and the PDS principal both took issue with course delivery as being disconnected from practice due to the lack of involvement

of school based faculty as originally planned in the PDS partnership. Both see an abdication of university faculty as a causal factor in the inadequate preparation of interns. The principal stated that:

> One concern I have is I don't know how many professors who are training these teachers have actually been teachers in an urban high school…or have been classroom teachers period…How can they do an adequate job of preparing these people to become teachers?…Why haven't these practitioners been working with these people all along and preparing them?…They {the interns} just don't understand basic educational issues. And I think that's why we see them quitting…

This sentiment reiterates this belief that interns were not adequately prepared over the two year period of the study, and that more practitioner involvement in year four is warranted. School-based faculty recommend preparing interns to "juggle" lesson implementation, management, and relationships with their own students. They state that when school-based and university-based faculty collaborated in the instruction of fourth year courses, this was an ability they fostered. This ability to "juggle" the multi-faceted demands of teaching appeared to be lacking in the interns who resigned. This also appears to be the skill that resigning interns recommended to improve the preservice preparation of the program, in asking that development of lessons and management be integrated.

School-based faculty go on to question the intelligence of secondary education courses being taught by those with no secondary teaching experience. Again, the issue does not appear to be course content, but execution and *course orientation* to practice.

Similarly, campus-based faculty point out that intern preparation is well conceptualized, but that it falls short in execution. They state that teaching is such a

difficult occupation that "you can never be fully prepared for the reality" and that "given the unrealistic expectations about what it means to teach" it is difficult to adequately prepare students for teaching independently as the internship requires. University course work provides the "intellectual tools necessary to teach, such as cognitive psychology, lesson planning and discipline strategies", but some interns are not provided the opportunity to practice using these tools, or given examples of how these tools are relevant to classroom teaching. This seems to be the argument interns make in stating that they are taught a discipline hierarchy, but not HOW to discipline. University faculty also note that there is no preparation for the procedural aspects of the job (paperwork, grading, truancy protocol) which all the interns in this study reported struggling with. University course disaffection is summarized by pointing out that the university is still perceived as a separate entity from schools, and that university knowledge and practitioner knowledge are still perceived as distinct. This seems to emerge in the school-based faculty belief that university courses need practitioner perspective in their teaching. One campus-based faculty member called for work toward an "internal coherence" in the partnership of the PDS, where course work is oriented toward a consilience of theory and practice.

Meeting the needs of diverse learners. A second preparatory issue which emerged from the data is the wide experiential divide between interns and the urban students they are to work with. Across stakeholders, the experience of "culture shock" is described as a possible causal factor in intern attrition, and one for which interns had little preparation in dealing with. This culture shock is defined by the data as a lack of preparation for dealing with the diversity of urban students in instruction and management. This

diversity includes not only the multicultural aspects of urban students' learning styles and interests, but the differing patterns and norms of acceptable behavior among individual students. Diversity also includes a range of academic performance and age of students taking the same course. Further, this culture shock regarding the diversity inherent in the urban context results in intern confusion regarding what teaching strategies would motivate and meet the needs of these diverse learners.

Description of this lack of preparation for work in multicultural schools is most poignant in the voices of the resigning interns. While they regard "students as good metal to work with," they describe dismay regarding some students' behavior patterns, and ask for "more preparation in content and what it will be like in urban schools… classes did not support what we were doing in schools." Even those resigning interns who reported experience with people of different cultures did not feel prepared for the student behaviors they encountered- calling out and singing in class- and felt that they had "absolutely no idea whatsoever how to deal with these kids." They felt that they did not come from a background where "kids fight and disrespect the teacher…I didn't know what was available for help with discipline." One expressed discomfort being "the only blonde in the room" and each resigning intern reported being "stunned" by the aggressive and open behavior of some students. One went so far as stating, "I wanted somebody to tell me what to do, what works with these kids in this place." It did not appear that these interns fully appreciated the different context of schooling in the urban situation until immersed in it:

> The reality is I could not teach them science, but had to work on behavior modification. The reality is that I was not trained to do this, and the reality is that I am not interested or willing to do this.

Resigning interns report feeling very different from their students, as when one introduced herself to them as having a master's degree in biology, and the students responded that she "was a rich little white girl." She reports a constant struggle for their attention, and a lack of strategies for maintaining it. Like the other resigning interns, she reports an astounding range of student behavior, academic performance and age that was incredibly difficult to deal with.

Interestingly, interns who completed the program also report being "shocked and amazed" at student norms of behavior, and report being ill-prepared to deal with student diversity. What appears to differentiate their experiences was that while the resigning interns felt that they could not or would not deal with these issues, that those who continued "resolved to work on it." One went as far as saying "no students are going to run me out" while others sought strategies from school-based faculty. Continuing interns appear to reinterpret student diversity as a challenge, and work hard to improve their management and methods as " there are so many good kids in this class…I need to try a different strategy." They spin their difficulties as productive in developing multiple teaching strategies, yet only one intern cited her fourth year practica in classrooms as assisting her in the fifth year internship in developing "ways of meeting the diverse needs of my multicultural learners." As in discussion of university course work, orientation seems to emerge again as an issue in intern preparation and attrition: in this case, a problem-solving orientation and a positive orientation to diversity may be important in intern retention.

School-based faculty appear to provide data that supports this theme of a need for more preparation for meeting the needs of a diverse population of students. The only African American informant in this study and the informant who identified the theme of "culture shock" describes this gap between interns and their students as cultural and not necessarily racial, as it was a difficulty she herself encountered:

> Your education does not prepare you for teaching. Even though I'm black, I was not prepared for the urban situation. I guess it's more culture. I come from a very middle class background. I was not accustomed to the openness and aggressiveness of students. I grew up in straight rows.

She makes some important points here in support of the theme of "culture shock." She points out that teachers and interns tend to be middle class, and have an educational experience that does not include cultural and SES diversity, and differing behavioral norms. She also points out the diversity in student age and skill level as a difficult aspect of urban teaching which interns are not prepared for in their university course work.

This discussion is taken a step further in emphasizing the importance of "cultural sensitivity and acceptance" in teaching in the urban context:

> Our kids are very open and loud and aggressive and thoroughly confrontive and these are all things that Judy is not. So- to deal with them sometimes you kind of have to be their way a little more. Learn that your style is not the best style. Even though some of their behavior isn't acceptable at all, it isn't horrible to them, it just needs to be channeled and used correctly. Assuming your cultural values are the right ones would be a mistake.

Here the idea of a positive orientation to diversity is reinforced: an acceptance of who kids are, and working toward channeling their diverse behaviors and learning styles in appropriate ways to promote learning. School-based faculty do not promote acceptance of "quite nasty and awful children" but an ability to see through behavior to different

cultural norms and teaching when " one {behavior} is appropriate and another's appropriate."

School-based faculty emphasize the interns' lack of preparation for diversity. They are especially harsh regarding what they perceive as university inattention to coursework that provides interns with knowledge of and strategies for dealing with the unique needs and learning styles of African American children which comprise over 80% of the PDS student population. One mentor speaks candidly:

> I believe a couple of things are at play with all the interns that left. One is culture shock. I know that there are African American people that don't like to hear about different cultures, but I think it's deeper than race…I think its about a different socioeconomic class…They're not prepared for that… We need to prepare interns better for the students that they are going to have in their classrooms…I believe real strongly that they need better knowledge of black children, black teenagers.

It is also noted that this inattention to preparation for diversity can result in intern attrition in that interns feel, " I still want to be a teacher, but I don't want to teach these kids." In an urban setting, " you have kids bringing in problems…you're bringing in too much to try to deal with" without adequate preparation. They suggest more attention to "understanding the schools, the teachers, the kids" to function as an intern in a diverse setting.

Once again, this theme is reinforced by the campus-based faculty. They report that many interns viewed the urban setting as "unsafe" and resented having to teach "those kids." They reiterate that the vast majority of PDS interns are white and middle class and have difficulty relating to urban students who differ from them culturally. They report that some interns feel they "couldn't relate to these children, that they have nothing in common" with students in urban schools. They feel that facilitating a positive

orientation toward diversity and easing the culture shock experienced by interns is best accomplished by:

> ...more preparation for interns...something close to the intern experience in the fourth year...day to day experience...to understand what it is to be a teacher.

This kind of practicum experience would provide immersion in diverse contexts to promote acceptance and understanding of diversity. Interestingly, this is the kind of experience that a continuing intern described as helping her to develop strategies to work with her "multicultural learners."

Clearly, a lack of preparation for the "culture shock" of working in a multicultural setting is perceived as a factor in intern attrition across stakeholders. And yet, both resigning and continuing interns report experiencing the wide cultural and experiential divide between themselves and the urban students they were to serve. What may be critical in intern retention is an orientation toward diversity as a strength and challenge, although this makes differing behavior, achievement and age in a single classroom no less difficult to deal with. Intern preparation that includes explicit strategies for meeting the needs of diverse learners does not appear to have occurred in this study. The data suggest that intern reaction and resolve regarding this "culture shock" (resigning interns feeling they could not deal with this context, and continuing interns searching for strategies) appears critical in understanding intern attrition.

An impractical practicum: Experiences in classrooms prior to the internship. A final issue of preparation which emerged from the data appears to be insufficient time in schools and inadequate experience delivering instruction and managing and monitoring learning in real classrooms prior to the internship. One informant quipped that the fourth

year preparation is so bad that the "internship becomes teaching without the benefit of student teaching!" Again, this theme appears across stakeholders, and appears to be important in understanding intern attrition.

Every resigning intern reported the inability to construct a lesson without assistance, or the inability to implement one. Several reported that they had no idea what they should be teaching, that they had no clear conception of the curriculum, that they selected content that was too difficult for students and felt "at a loss as to what I should be teaching." One resigning intern, however, reports that she "had good lesson plans, but I never got the chance to implement them" given inappropriate student behavior. These difficulties with basic teaching skills suggest some failure in the fourth year preparation. Discussion of inadequate course work and lack of strategies effective with diverse learners explains some of the interns' difficulties in year four, but not all.

A final gap in interns' preparation to teach was actual practice in doing so. One intern, already having a teaching certificate and seeking an additional certification was not required to do any practica work. This left him vulnerable to the difficulties of the urban context as he encountered them alone as an intern, without the benefit of a guided experience with a mentor as the program dictates in year four. The other four resigning interns in the study report strong experiences in year four under the guidance of excellent mentors. Each report spending time planning lessons with mentors and implementing them with mentors. The key here may be the term "with." While certainly this guided experience was critical, these women never experienced teaching "on their own." Several even report a lack of familiarity with curriculum, a clear purpose of year four experiences. These women also point to the artificiality of teaching "isolated lessons" as the year four

course work demands allow for only weekly work in schools, and do not provide for a continuous experience where students can witness how daily teaching progresses. The English Language Arts interns point out that tutoring at the university for their first practicum experience was especially pointless as it dealt with adult learners who were, like students in their mentors' classes, already motivated and manageable.

One resigning intern, however, took it upon herself to schedule a continuous experience for her year four practica, teaching three consecutive weeks for each of two quarters. This provided her with continuity and the opportunity to plan and implement sequential instruction which the other resigning interns did not. However, she felt that this experience too was lacking. One, she only worked with two classes, both of which were extremely well managed and highly motivated by the mentor teacher before she arrived. She thus did not experience working both a lesson and management, or working with reluctant learners. Both these experiences in year four would have proven invaluable in the internship, given the challenging groups of students interns face.

Finally, the resigning interns report no experience or strategies for setting up a classroom at the start of the year: the fourth year program does not place them in schools until November, long after classroom routines and management have been established. There is no opportunity in the fourth year to practice strategies for building rapport and routines which are pivotal skills in creating a community of learners in the internship.

Continuing interns also report gaps in their fourth year practica experiences. Two interns termed "stars" by their mentors reveal that they had no idea what they were supposed to be teaching. One describes an excellent experience with a mentor at the high school in this study, but then being assigned to a mentor who "never had control of her

class and so never let me teach." His entire fourth year teaching experience consisted of five lessons. Another reports teaching only three lessons as her mentors were "disorganized and pretty much finished teaching at the end of the year." Only one continuing intern in this study reports two excellent mentoring situations in year four but laments that class control was never an issue she had to grapple with as the mentor had already established strong management. Learning to juggle management and instruction was an experience she wished she had had in year four which could have made her internship more successful.

School based and campus based faculty also fault the fourth year practica as inadequate. They note that the fourth year experience does not provide students with enough information about the urban context to be effective as an intern. One school-based faculty member suggests "a farm system" that gets students into schools early, even in their second year of college, to give them practical experience in real classrooms with real kids.

Other school-based faculty members emphasize the need to connect the fourth year practica to the fourth year coursework. They note a lack of practitioner involvement in the courses that create the assignments students are to complete in the schools during the practica. This links the two issues of course orientation and "impractical practica": if students are not given meaningful assignments in their fourth year courses to complete in real classrooms, the entire experience collapses: both mentors and students are unsure of tasks and roles. School-based faculty, like the interns, mention content-specific methods courses as the exception: students are given important fieldwork in these courses to prepare them to teach independently.

Campus-based faculty reiterate the interns' perspective that the fourth year experience does not provide opportunities for teaching on a day to day basis, developing relationships with students, or dealing with discipline issues. This is similar to the idea that interns learn to "juggle" these facets of teaching to be effective. As aforementioned, campus faculty also voice the need for more continuous classroom experience in year four, but do not see a way to implement that kind of experience given an already heavy course load.

Orientation to practice in intern preparation. Three themes emerged as important to intern attrition regarding preparation: the theory-practice gap in university course work; the lack of knowledge of and strategies for meeting the needs of diverse learners; and the discontinuous practica experience. Where these themes intertwine appears to be in "The Great Disconnect" often discussed in terms of the lack of consilience of theory and practice in teacher education course work. In this data, the "disconnect" appears to extend to knowledge of contextual factors that will influence teaching and learning, such as cultural and management issues particular to urban schools. Further, as the practica experiences are also "disconnected", teaching in three different sites in one year and teaching at the most one lesson per week, it becomes increasingly difficult for fourth year students to obtain preparation adequate to complete the independent daily teaching required of the internship.

Further, this "disconnection" is perceived as an essential lack of *orientation to practice* in fourth year preparation of interns in implementing university course work, in developing strategies for working with today's diverse learner, and in providing goal-oriented, continuous guided teaching experience. Insufficient preparation in this regard,

and difficulty remediating this during the internship, appears to be related to intern attrition.

Issues of Support

The issue of support appears to be the most idiosyncratic variable in the context of intern attrition. There is no absolute association between a perception of lack of support and intern resignation. In fact, the only intern who ranked the support she received during the program as excellent resigned after three weeks in the internship. However, as with preparation issues, there does seem to be sufficient agreement among stakeholders that aspects of the support system that the PDS asserts it provides are either missing, or poorly executed. This appeared to be a greater problem in the first year of the study (when attrition ballooned to 28%) than in year two (when rates lowered to 12%). Perhaps what emerges from the data here is not so much an issue of the provision of support, as all stakeholders report a degree of assistance offered to the interns, but rather a *climate of support* where interns perceive it is not only "safe" but important that they seek mentoring from campus and school faculty. Such a *climate* requires not only that all parts of the support network are in place, both physical and personal, but that this network provide individualized emotional, pedagogical and contextual information requisite for functioning in an school environment.

Essential to experiencing a *climate of support*, is the individual intern's orientation to support. In studying the networks of assistance provided by the PDS team of school and campus faculty and intern peers, the PDS high school, and an individual intern's personal support system, there appears to emerge a subtle difference between resigning interns' and continuing interns' reaction to the support available to them.

Resigning interns perceived requests for assistance and the need for support as a personal failure as opposed to an integral function of the PDS system. Continuing interns, however, sought support from a variety of sources, especially when the PDS team appeared to fail them. This positive orientation to support was a personal resolve to find the physical, pedagogical, contextual and emotional support necessary to be successful in the urban classroom.

Provision of a climate of support appears to be one of the basic tenants of the PDS system, yet does not appear in the data as consistently achieved. While both resigning and continuing interns complain regarding lack of support in schools, there are also resigning and continuing interns who feel they were tremendously supported during their internship. Still, there are aspects of the PDS network of support which, while in place, did not appear to be implemented in a manner which was helpful to interns. While not specifically cited by all resigning interns as important in their decisions to leave, provision may have functioned as a vehicle for retention, in that work within a climate of support may have made the teaching obstacles they encountered more manageable, and remedied the lack of preparation all interns expressed feeling.

There is general agreement regarding gaps in intern support over the two year period of this study that may have contributed to intern attrition. The deficiencies in this climate of support appear to emerge in two categories: school-based and campus-based. Each set of stakeholders highlights this division of support responsibility and implementation difficulties.

Resigning intern perception of support. Resigning interns report, with the exception the informant in the second year, a general feeling of lack of support for their

work in schools. First and foremost, interns report being "abandoned by the university." By this they mean a lack of university presence in the schools, as well as the lack of a campus-based faculty member assigned to the PDS teams until late September. This feeling is in stark contrast to all five resigning interns' description of strong mentoring relationships established with campus-based faculty prior to the internship. This "discontinuity of care" for the interns from year four into year five may have affected intern capacity to deal with the obstacles of independent teaching, as they felt no connection between the support provided them in year four and the support offered in the internship. One reported some university involvement, but that this advisor was over-committed and unable to make all PDS team meetings. Three report no university contact during the summer and September. One resigned the day a university liaison was assigned, another reports not even knowing she had a PDS support team, and the third gives an account of a retired science professor from a community college assigned to her English PDS team who warned her not to expect to see him on Friday's as that was his "golf day" and that otherwise "he'd be the guy in the corner taking notes." This perceived lack of university involvement did not contribute to a climate of support.

The resigning interns also take issue with the *lack of resource* support provided by the schools in which they interned. All report basic physical plant and resource deficiencies which made it difficult for them to teach:

> Except for some dried up paint, glue and copy paper, there was little supplies in the classroom…anything else had to be bought, borrowed or begged for…I had to literally go from teacher to teacher to borrow books, just so I could plan! As a first month teacher, I have no idea what is grade level, let alone what level I should be teaching the students.

This lack of resource support continued in this high school where IEP's were not available for the special education students interns were to work with. No curriculum was made available to the special education intern.

The other resigning interns also report confusion over curricular issues, with the foreign language intern also reporting no curriculum was ever provided to her. One experienced planning with a curriculum, only to have that curriculum changed the week before school began. These women also take issue with the availability of resources for working with students. Three did not have textbooks until the third week of school. They did not have access to the school copier, or even to their rooms due to "lost keys." Two had students sitting on the floor as there were not enough desks in the classrooms they taught in.

Another issue of a climate of support is the scheduling of teaching assignment for interns. *Difficult teaching assignment* through placement mismatches and assignment changes emerge from the data. Two report assignments that were incongruent with their teaching goals; a request for multi-handicapped secondary students was not filled, and a request to teach middle school was also not honored. Two had their teaching assignments and PDS team assignments changed in mid-August due to the high school scheduling needs. One reports not feeling comfortable with an urban assignment at all. Another issue was that one resigning intern felt it was "unfair" that she teach three classes while other interns teach two, and that she felt she would "probably still be teaching" had she been given a suburban assignment of two classes with a traditional cooperating teacher.

Moreover, three of the five interns who resigned reported class size above contractual limits (30 students) and four of five reported special education students

included in their classrooms for which they were provided no assistance or information. Large classes and inclusionary procedures were additional aspects of intern teaching assignments which the resigning interns found difficult. Further, four of the five describe orientation to the school before school began as lacking. They report not knowing where to obtain supplies, copies, books. All five report a lack of familiarity with school procedures, particularly what is available for assistance with unruly students, such as the In School Suspension program, or what to do if there is a fight in the classroom. Incomplete orientation, lack of resources and difficult schedule appear to have been support factors in intern attrition.

A final issue important to a climate of support is the *uneven mentoring* reported by the interns regarding the provision and quality of mentoring provided by the PDS team interns are assigned to work with. Here the experiences of the resigning interns appear to be different, especially between the first year of the study and the second. The resigning intern who experienced the least assistance reported that she was not even aware that she had a support team, and her lead teacher mentor never planned with her, and taught at the same time she did and thus could never assist or observe the intern teaching. She was truly on her own.

Another intern also reports no team support at the elementary setting with the exception of a single mentor. In fact, the school itself seemed a particularly unsupportive environment where even veteran teachers seeking assistance are ignored, as when the central office did not respond to a teacher's call for help with disruptive students. This situation appeared to be remedied at the high school in this study where this intern joined an intact team. Still, the team asked him to "listen more" at meetings. Here the intern

experienced a "mismatch" between his style and that of the team. It does not appear that this intern ever felt accepted by or part of a team, with the exception of specific mentors that seemed overwhelmed with their own work.

Three resigning interns report being part of a strong team of mentors. They planned with a mentor, and brought up issues for discussion at weekly team meetings. However, this was not the daily planning, preparation over the summer and codified discipline strategy that these interns expected. What appears to be critical here is not the provision of support, which was clearly implemented, but rather that this was not the kind of support these interns felt they needed to become teachers. One felt:

> …no support while I was in the classroom…I guess I wanted the traditional, hold my hand first year…someone available to observe every day and give constant feedback…I can't find out how to teach this way…

To these interns, this high school "seemed out of control." They often felt "terrified because I didn't know what would happen next." They didn't feel ready to go it alone, which was what they felt their teams required.

The intern in the second year, however, reports an intact PDS team in August, planning time with mentors prior to September, and the constantly available support of both university and school faculty. These discrepant data force the issue of support beyond simply having resources, mentors and scheduling in place (although this is critical). What this intern perceives as missing in terms of support appears to be strategies regarding the pedagogy and context of teaching in urban schools:

> …the fact that I was failing to fulfill what I was hired to do was very upsetting to me…I was told that I had to teach these students how to behave before I could teach them biology. I do not believe that should be my responsibility…Perhaps education students should be told that there are only a few students who will be

> affected by their teaching and decide if those numbers are acceptable…I left behavior management and discipline issues. I did not leave teaching.

This excerpt from the intern's resignation letter speaks to her perception of the support she was offered. As in the interns' description of university coursework as disconnecting management and teaching, discipline is discussed as separate from instruction and rapport, and not integrated as in terms of the "juggling" school-based faculty describe as successful urban teaching. Seeing managing and monitoring learning as separate from teaching facilitated this intern's resignation. She was not willing to work on student behavior along with their academics as her support team suggested. She did not feel she had the strategies to do so, or if she was willing to use those strategies. This is similar to the sentiment that "somebody tell me what to do, what works with these kids in this place."

Support, then, is multi-faceted and complex, and the resigning interns did not appear to have the climate of support, in university continuity of care, resources, scheduling and mentoring, necessary to complete the internship.

Continuing intern perception of support. Continuing interns however, were just as vocal in discussing the lack of support they experienced. They discuss being "cut loose by the university…like we had no connection to U*** anymore." However, the continuing interns in year two of the study did not report this as PDS teams were intact in early August, and the English Language Arts university and school faculty facilitated a planning workshop three weeks before school started. However, interns do hint at some abdication of campus-based faculty in that graduate students and adjunct faculty are

assigned to PDS teams in lieu of tenured professors. Still, the data document improvement in university support structures over time.

School-based support structures, however, continue to be problematic. Resources for teaching continue to be scarce. Continuing interns also report stealing desks and over 30 students in their classes, and feeling resentful at being required to teach three classes when other interns teach two, or in some cases, a single class. One continuing intern never had a single classroom to teach in, but floated among 4 different classrooms, never having a desk or file cabinet to store her personal teaching resources. Other interns spoke of being unsure of the curriculum they were to teach in the early weeks of the internship. All spoke of being unsure of the resources available to deal with management issues until actually confronted with them.

Scheduling did not seem to be an issue with continuing interns, except those assigned an additional class and with class sizes above contractual limits. Having a teaching schedule one feels comfortable with may be an element of support critical to retention.

Finally, and most adamantly, continuing interns perceive the mentoring that they receive from their PDS teams as uneven. They felt the loss of university mentors in September and some were intimidated by their school mentors. Several taught at the same time as their school mentors and were never observed by them. In fact, one continuing intern was observed only twice the entire year, and mistook her team support meetings as "presentations" by school faculty. They also report difficulty in establishing rapport with their school-based mentors. One goes as far as to say he had no mentors on the PDS team. Personality conflicts with mentors, and lack of feeling supported by them

were reported. One intern notes that mentors were there "when I really needed one" but that their work with her was inconsistent. Team meetings are reported as helpful but inconsistent. Some university-based and school-based faculty are cited as helpful, but not available on a daily basis.

What appears to differentiate the experiences of support between the resigning and continuing interns is that those who continued created their own *climate of support.* In response to uneven mentoring on the PDS team, continuing interns sought other avenues to gain the resources, pedagogy and contextual knowledge they needed to become successful urban teachers. All the interns had issues, but those that stayed resolved to work on them. They worked on their relationships with mentors, and found support for classroom management from other faculty in the high school not on the PDS team. Several worked closely with their grade level interdisciplinary teams, and found the guidance of veteran teachers who worked with the same students to be exceptionally helpful and relevant. Continuing interns reached out to other interns in their subject area for resources and assistance. One intern shared a classroom with a veteran English teacher she had worked with in her fourth year practicum. She had someone to laugh, cry and plan with daily.

In several of these situations, it appears that the PDS structure has been circumvented. This is true if one views the PDS as the team only. While continuing interns did not dismiss the assistance of the team totally, they did not find their help consistent. However, if one considers the Professional Development School as a system, continuing interns were able to create a climate of support within that system that resigning interns did not. Essential to this construction was a positive orientation to

support. Continuing interns viewed support as critical to their teaching. Resigning interns, while stating they received support, appeared to view such assistance as a failure on their part and did not wish to continue. They did not appear to perceive the internship as part of learning to teach within a network of support, but as teaching independently. Subtly, the internship is both.

School-based faculty perception of support. School-based faculty concur that the support provided by the PDS is uneven. The support provided by the PDS:

> ...varies greatly depending on who their lead teacher mentor is. And who the career teachers are that are working with them. I think this means that maybe we as a district, we as a school, need to do a better job of identifying these people and helping them understand what their responsibilities are and making sure they meet those responsibilities...The other systemic thing is that you're going to have interns teaching classes at the same time as the other people teaching classes. And I don't know if anything can be done systemically to address that problem...I don't see professors coming into the school and into the classes as often as they should be.

The issue of support is problematic for both partners in the PDS: there appears to be a lack of consistent university-based mentors in the schools and a need for improved selection and training of school-based mentors by the schools.

Some mentors view their "role as evaluator rather than mentor...or giving assistance." School-based faculty believe that just as "it takes different strategies to get across to kids in the classroom, it's the same way with interns." Some mentors (both school and university) were perceived as lacking the patience to work with interns, and some saw the release time provided to work with interns as free time.

However, one school-based faculty member then notes that some of the onus for support is on the intern:

> I think the amount of support is variable-it varies from team to team. I believe it is there. I believe the university support is there, if the intern chooses to believe it and want it...{The university is} reaching out but there has to be another hand reaching back. And I don't think the interns understand that...Interns have to keep an open mind. To keep a mind open enough to accept that support.

Here a differing orientation to support among interns is observed, in the idea of "another hand reaching back." The importance of a willingness to accept support and work toward better practice appears to be as integral to a climate of support as the availability and quality of mentoring.

Interestingly, the other school based faculty reiterate the idea that the interns who resigned did not wish for additional support, and had their minds made up. They note the lack of university presence. However, they do not discuss the quality of school-based mentoring. No school-based faculty member noted resources, intern teaching schedule or knowledge of school procedures as support issues for interns.

Campus-based faculty perception of support. Campus-based faculty emphasized support issues as critical to intern retention. First, "support teams need to be in place in August" as well as school-based initiatives such as proper class size, decreased density of special needs children, and lessened difficulty of teaching assignment for the interns. Some teams are termed "dysfunctional" as some members do not attend support meetings, and campus-based faculty push for intern teaching assignments that "don't abuse the intern." Also important in the university perspective was that the perception of support is a highly individual phenomenon, and that mentoring can occur in different ways. Attention to the institutional structures of the PDS is critical: both the university and school should provide resources to support the interns.

A climate of support. As aforementioned, support is a highly idiosyncratic variable in this study, where some resigning interns state that the support they received was "wonderful" and some continuing interns state that they had no mentors. What appears to emerge from the data is the importance of a *climate of support* which insures that necessary resources, proper scheduling, and consistent mentoring are available. Critical to the success of a supportive climate is a positive orientation to support: that interns recognize that learning to teach is a collaborative life-long venture and are willing to seek and utilize the support available to them. Availability of support and a perception that need for support is not a failure appear to be important factors in intern attrition.

Issues of Internship Experience

In interrogating the data regarding the experiences of interns in schools during the fifth year, two important themes emerged: the workplace conditions which include the experience of violence and a sense of isolation that separated the teaching contexts of the resigning and continuing interns. These findings are especially poignant given the rash of shootings in American schools in 1998. Even in a small Midwestern city, violence is present in our classrooms, and appears to be a predictor variable in this study of intern attrition.

Workplace conditions. All five interns who resigned experienced violence in their classrooms. Two resigning interns physically broke up fights in their classrooms where one student was choking another. The first intern received appropriate administrative support, and the incident was handled by an assistant principal and students were suspended. The second intern's students were returned to his classroom with the stipulation that they apologize to him. A third intern was pushed out of the way by

students when she instructed them to remain after class. She was given team support in phoning parents and assigning detentions to the offending students, but it is unlikely that she ever recovered from such a blatant and physical disregard for her authority as the teacher.

While two resigning interns did not report physical violence, both experienced aggressive disrespect and what they described as "in your face" verbal assaults from students. One reported dancing and singing by students as she attempted to teach, while another reported students insulting her personally by calling her "a rich little white girl" and even making comments about her shoes. One student went over to the intern, stood close to her and leaned toward her face and said, "You're scared of us, aren't you? You should be." The intern leaned back and said, "Of course not. I'm trying to teach!" She could not obtain control of the class:

> Usually they would stop so we could get something done but today they would not stop…And you think- do you throw them out because they'll stop for a second- so you start the warnings. I didn't throw anyone out. I think I was just defeated. And they knew it…And they can see me getting upset which they love…and I thought, "Do I want to do this again?"

She felt that she "could not meet my responsibilities in the classroom." The violent and belligerent nature of several members of the classes she taught prevented her from trying.

No continuing intern reported an issue of violence, or even what they would construe as a verbal threat or assault. While every intern described struggles with management, and need for support and strategies that the resigning interns requested, the degree of the discipline issues faced clearly delineates resigning and continuing interns.

Further, perhaps because direct violence was not involved, a subtle resolve to work on and improve management existed among those who remained. One continuing intern notes that it was hard for resigning interns to face that they had management difficulties while "the rest of us worked on it." One resigning intern did not seek assistance and no team member had any idea anything was wrong. Another reports simply "giving up." A third did not call her mentors for assistance, but called instead to resign.

However, a continuing intern who considered resigning, called a mentor for strategies. Other continuing interns received assistance from other faculty with particularly disruptive students or received assistance from their interdisciplinary team.

School-based and university-based faculty also reported the experience of violence in the classroom and "particularly disruptive students" and "nasty and awful children" as precipitating intern attrition. However school faculty term the violence as "typical classroom brawls," or "a bad management choice", or noting that "when four or five of the students are gone- and they will be- that class will be manageable." There is a subtle acceptance among school and university-based faculty that this violent and disruptive behavior is part of teaching in urban schools. It appears that resigning interns are not prepared or not willing to deal with this tension if this is the context of schooling.

A sense of isolation. Finally, there is a sense of isolation experienced by the resigning interns in their experience in schools, despite the network of mentors and peers the PDS affords. One was unfamiliar with the other interns due to taking a year off before the internship. The fact that no one on the PDS team perceived she was struggling, but saw her as "so together" suggests she kept her difficulties to herself. She

spent her third weekend thinking, "I'm trying to teach, I have too many students, my mentor is busy with his students, and the interns are so frustrated they won't talk to each other..." Another resigning intern who only entered the program that spring, was also unfamiliar with other interns and staff and interacted mainly with his university mentor. These interns felt the loss of close relationships at the university during the internship. Another issue that led to isolation was that peers and often mentors taught at the same time as the resigning interns, and this schedule was isolating. The resigning intern who felt supported, was not willing to use the support available to continue.

Continuing interns were able to break out of the isolation of traditional teaching and work with a variety of colleagues: the PDS team, the interdisciplinary teams, program facilitators and other interns.

School mentors note that there is an undercurrent among the interns that may contribute to this isolation. They noted that while peers can often provide support and collaboration, there is also

> ...a subtle competition among the interns. Some people are excluded from the group. I noticed it this year more than others...they know each other's business in some ways.

This points out the flip side of the peer support that was emphasized as a strength of the program. Perceived success and failure in the classroom becomes an issue as team interactions make this information public. Further complicating these relationships is that the team is also responsible for the evaluation of interns. This sense of competition could lead to the isolation of those who perceived they were not measuring up in the context of the team.

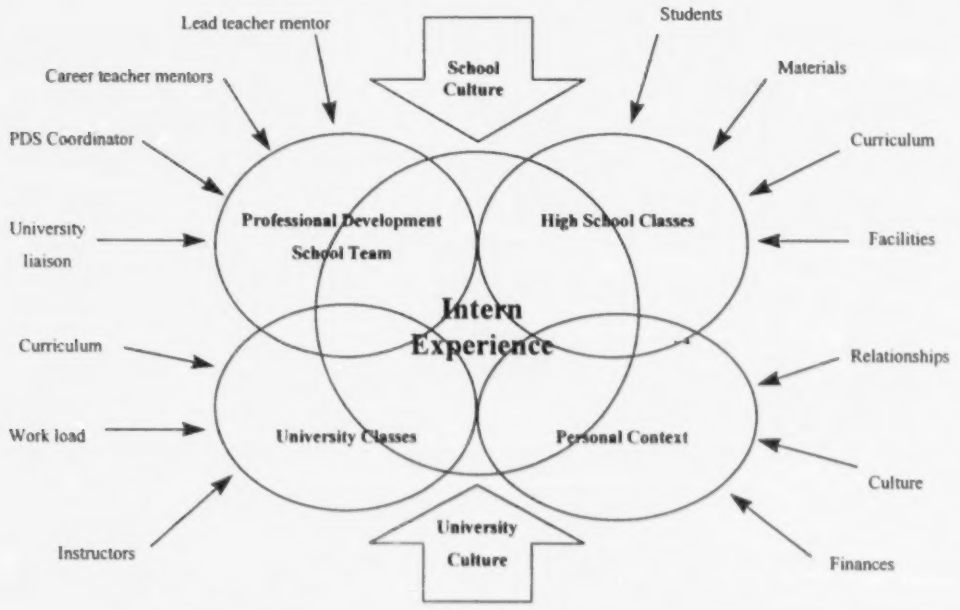
Experiences during the internship, then, are perceived as precipitating intern attrition. Workplace conditions that include the experience of violence and a sense of isolation appear to be important in the intern's decision to quit.

A Complex Web of Interaction

Given these patterns in the three coding areas, a complex context of intern experience in the PDS emerges (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2

Ecology of Intern Attrition



Akin to the theory of ecological intelligence proposed by Yinger and Hendricks-Lee (1993) what emerges from the data is that interns in the PDS environment operate within a network of cultural, physical, social, historical, and personal realms of knowledge unique to the secondary school ecosystem. The two primary influences appear to be the cultures of school and university (large arrows) which are in tension in the intern world. While at times this is clearly a creative tension, as when interns report a

"wonderful PDS team" or that "I would recommend this program to anyone"; there is also conflict when "this program pays no attention to us" or interns report not knowing who their PDS support teams were or not seeing the relevance of such pivotal university courses as "Social Inequalities" or "Human Learning". How to negotiate that tension as the partnership moves toward "a new form of institution" remains the challenge of the PDS and intern retention. Here the theme of *orientation to practice* is related to the difficulty of aligning the work of universities and schools, especially in making explicit connection to teaching practice in university course work.

In addition to the influence of university and school culture, intern experience appears to be affected by four primary aspects of the ecosystem itself: the PDS team, the high school classes, university classes, and personal context (four large circles intersecting within intern experience). For each of the interns studied, these four realms of experience were critical in their decisions to leave or to continue the internship.

University coursework and preparation. University classes, a perennial target of despair for education students, appeared to live up to their dismal reputation in this study, with the notable exception of "methods" courses. The definition of methods courses appeared to reflect Shulman's (1987) definition of pedagogical content knowledge specific to their discipline. However, some courses were called methods by some interns and theory by others. What appears to be operating here is that coursework becomes relevant and beneficial to intern experience when there is *explicit not tacit* connection between theory and practice in the classroom. This is similar to Brown et al.'s (1989) concept of *authentic activity* where learning becomes robust when there is a context for application. It would seem that the intern comment that "I wish they would practice what

they preach" is applicable here: course execution and orientation needs to be more in line with the goal of "how theory works in practice." Courses dealing with cognitive psychology and cultural differences could become "methods" courses as well.

Fourth year preparation was also an issue. All parties expressed the need for stronger preparation in the fourth year, with a more continuous experience in the secondary classroom, and some semblance of an "opening of school" experience. This appears to be an area for discussion and work by teacher educators to insure a better September for novice teachers.

Another note on the university class context would be the issue of instructors and instruction brought up by all circles of informants. Where instruction appeared to be most robust was where university and school faculty worked together, and the cultural, historical and social tensions inherent in their relationship were negotiated. This requires instructors from both sites who teach in a manner consistent with the vision of the partnership and the Holmes Group (1990). This may require increased involvement of school-based faculty on the university side of the street, and promotion of the "we" of the PDS and in larger circles of teacher education.

A final aspect of this university context is the intern perception that they are "not being paid attention to" by the program. This feeling of isolation and powerlessness expressed by both continuing and exiting interns appears to be an area to be addressed. This could promote the concept that interns are *partners* in this venture called teacher education: beginning professionals whose perceptions are valued, and that there is a venue for their input.

PDS teams. In terms of the team structure of the PDS in the fifth year, this context appeared to be either extraordinary or disastrous. In the first year of the study, none of the teams from which interns resigned were intact, missing campus-based faculty. This "abdication of the university" appeared to affect intern retention. In year two, teams were intact, and retention increased. This would appear to support current literature in the field that suggests multiple support for beginning teachers (Gold, 1996; Huling-Austin, 1990), and the critical role of the support or mentor teacher (Rosenholtz, 1989).

Second, role clarity on the team. Career level, lead, university and novice teachers must be aware of their roles and responsibilities. Some school-based and campus-based mentors appeared unaware of the support they were to provide the interns, or simply chose not to do so. No training of mentors is reported in the data.

Third, relationships. As discussed regarding the university liaisons, interns need a level of trust in the team that had not had the time to occur with the interns that left. School-based faculty report being "floored" by interns' intentions to resign. This hints at a need for fostering a more personal and collegial atmosphere on the team. More in depth orientation and the summer workshop could provide venues for this relationship to develop.

Fourth, and most simplistically, there needs to be a PDS team. The fact that a lead teacher with release time paid for by the partnership did not have that time when she could observe and work with her interns is telling. Further, while interns must bear some of the responsibility for not knowing they had a support team, the team itself must exhibit some characteristics of supporting the interns for them to get the idea. Several school-based mentors spent many hours ensuring that proper scheduling of both their interns and

themselves occurred to allow for proper mentoring. Team meetings were held biweekly, with individual conferencing with interns reported. The fact that not all PDS teams functioned to provide consistent mentoring may have been related to intern attrition.

Finally, interns described feeling they were "pulling lesson plans out of their" whatever. The teams did not appear to assist interns consistently in this most critical area of teaching. Even the most successful interns report incredible frustration in this area.

High school classes. A third realm of experience that appeared to affect intern retention was their experience within the high school classes themselves. For the interns that resigned, this context was an overwhelmingly negative one. This substantiates the import of workplace factors in teacher retention as described by Rosenholtz (1989).

First, the issue of assignment. Some intern assignments appeared overly rigorous. University faculty suggest attention to class size, number of special needs students, and difficulty of classes.

Second, the issue of facilities and materials, the physical realm of knowledge Yinger and Hendricks-Lee(1993) discuss. Orientation to modes of material procurement was not reported. Interns report stealing desks from other classrooms, and not being provided curricula and materials with which to plan. This appeared to be an issue which overwhelmed some interns.

Third, the issue of urban school assignment. This is not an easy aspect of the PDS to discuss. Suburban, white interns (the majority of the cohort) appear to have difficulty in dealing with the realities of urban America, and many appear simply not to want to. The partnership has not appeared to deal with this aspect of the intern context. Whether the partnership is committed to an urban mission remains to be seen. Whether the

partnership is preparing or can prepare interns to deal adequately with the multicultural aspects of city schools is also an open question. What is clear is that this context is difficult for interns, and must be addressed explicitly to promote intern retention.

Fourth, the issue of violence. This was an issue for three of the interns that left, and disruptive and disrespectful behavior of students was reported by all interns interviewed.

Fifth, other teachers in the PDS not on teams can make a difference, and these relationships should be fostered and nurtured by the system. Interns who learned discipline strategies received assistance from other teachers in the high school. Interdisciplinary teams were helpful. This peripheral involvement in the mentoring of interns by teachers not directly involved in the Professional Development School teams points to the emergence of a school-wide responsibility for inducting beginning teachers.

Personal context. The final realm of context to contribute to the intern experience described in this study is a personal one, as discussed by Haberman (1987) and others. This study does provide support for personal factors in teacher attrition and retention. This area was most stressed by university faculty, and least discussed by the interns themselves. What is important to state, however, is that "it is not clear whether an intern's 'sticking' was due to the individual experience or to some individual member of the team". Individual relationships with other interns, faculty members, and family members appeared to be important.

One Summary: A Call for Situated Pedagogical Knowledge

This narrative of findings in proceeded in discussing the preparation, support and internship experiences which appeared to influence intern attrition in this study.

warranted in the multicultural classrooms of diverse learners in the 21st century. This situated pedagogical knowledge may promote teacher retention by providing specific strategies, skills and methods that facilitate learning in diverse classrooms and contexts. Such strategic teaching knowledge would promote not only the development of a range of instructional techniques, but discussion of when each technique is appropriate through an understanding of the influence of context and culture on student behavior and learning. Such situated knowledge would provide preservice teachers with the knowledge of the contexts of the urban, suburban and rural schools, the cultures of the students and the learning styles and behaviors they may encounter. It would then provide the strategic knowledge for facilitating learning and fostering a disciplined learning environment in differing contexts, from the urban classroom to the rural classroom, from the advanced student bored with school to a student who dances on desks. Further, a situated pedagogy in 1998 would include methods for dealing with violence in the classroom, including firearms.

Such a situated pedagogical knowledge appeared to be lacking in the interns who chose to resign from the PDS. Those who continued appeared to work throughout the internship to develop this situated pedagogy, and discern methods which met the needs of diverse learners in their classrooms.

Conclusions and Implications for Teacher Education

Clearly, knowledge described by Yinger and Hendricks-Lee (1993) as comprising ecological intelligence had a profound effect on intern decisions to continue or resign from the PDS. What appears across coding areas in this study is the need for situated pedagogical knowledge which provides beginning teachers with strategies explicitly

related to the contexts, diverse learners and multiple instructional situations they will encounter in practice, especially in the urban setting.

Such findings suggest that implementation of courses and beginning teacher support structures must be fundamentally situated in the context of practice to insure adequate preparation, support and teaching experiences for fifth year interns. This work contributes to the educational field by advancing our thinking about how to better develop the PDS, and suggests avenues for teacher retention through the provision of situated pedagogical knowledge "to secure for all of our children what the best and wisest parent wants for his own child"(Darling-Hammond, 1998; p.13).

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